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time Prussian ambassador at Rome, and is now a cabinet minister. And yet these two distinguished public men have been able to present to the republic of letters works which we should expect from none but professed literary men, and which would seem to require the leisure and labor of a professor in his closet. How is it too, that in England, our 'magna parens,' Mr Fox (to take one example for many) was able to discuss nice questions respecting the Greek metres with a professed scholar, like Gilbert Wakefield. And how is it, that we have nothing of this kind from our own public men? Is it because of any inferiority in native powers of intellect? We trust not; for the foreign nations, who are acquainted with us, have done us ample justice in that respect. Is it then, in consequence of the imperfections in our *education?* We leave the answer to our intelligent and candid readers.

ART. X.—*Memoirs of the life of the Right Honorable William Pitt. By George Tomline, D. D. F. R. S. Lord Bishop of Winchester, and prelate of the most noble order of the Garter.* Philadelphia, 1821. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 916.

DR TOMLINE, formerly known by the name of Prettyman, is not without his own reputation and dignities. His theological works, however, we believe, are thought to display more industry of compilation and purity of composition, than either uncommon intellect or much originality of investigation. He has already enjoyed the rare fortune and distinction of having filled two or three rich bishoprics in the church of England. Nevertheless, we account it the most remarkable circumstance in his life, and one to which he is probably indebted in part for the preferments we have just recorded, that he was the private tutor of William Pitt, and had the management of his education at the university; that for some time he acted as his confidential secretary, and at all times maintained an uninterrupted intercourse with him, in all matters connected with his official situation; that he was favored and honored by a constant and unreserved friendship with that eminent individual to the hour of his death, at which time he was present and administered to him with his own hand the last offices for the dying; and finally, that he was appointed one of his execu-

tors, and in that capacity had access to all his papers. We cannot, however, in conscience, compliment Dr Tomline, on having very successfully employed the advantages with which he has himself acquainted us. We cannot, it is true, estimate the industry and intelligence with which the right reverend biographer has examined the papers of Mr Pitt; but we are able to judge of the degree of knowledge, which he possesses of the motives and causes of that statesman's public acts, and of the secret but bewitching history attending all negotiations, both foreign and domestic. We speak now only of those private and often trifling facts and circumstances, which constitute what may be called, the train of public events, which are set down in the green-room for the direction of the players, whispered in cabinets, or to confidential secretaries, but which a minister does not open with his budget, nor insert in the protocols of his treaties. These are the paragraphs after which readers now hunt with the keenest avidity; these form the plot, the romance of public life, and in dexterous hands would make the history of every warrior or statesman another 'Kenilworth,' or 'Memoirs of a Cavalier.' But of these details there is a most unhappy and pitiful want in the memoirs by Dr Tomline, a want which we cannot feel to be altogether justified by the remark of the distinguished prelate, that in writing the history of so recent a period, he has felt it incumbent on him to suppress many circumstances and anecdotes of a private nature.

But above all, we are bound to complain of the utter neglect of the papers of Mr Pitt. An individual, who had been *premier* of Great Britain for more than a score of years, and whose daily occupations during all that time were with the concerns of millions of people, must have abounded in portfolios containing the most curious letters and documents of which the publication at this time could put in jeopardy neither persons nor nations; more especially as we find that many families in England, such as the Sydney, the Harrington, the Grantham, and others of less note, who may perhaps have once furnished an ambassador at a foreign court, or minister to the cabinet, now possess valuable collections of papers. But Dr Tomline has thought proper to withhold every such paper, with the exception of a few private letters from the king; and the exquisite charm of those letters does but heighten our regrets, for the numerous compositions of a dip-

lomatic nature, which must have existed in the same archives. In short, we can look upon these memoirs in no other light than as a pleasing compilation, composed in an easy and intelligible style and manner, and though we do not profess to have gone through the comparison with perfect accuracy, we are, nevertheless, justified in making the remark, with some degree of confidence, that every fact and anecdote of much importance in this work may be found in the Parliamentary History, the Political life of William Pitt, by John Gifford, (which we are far from mentioning in the way of commendation,) and in the Speeches of Mr Pitt, collected by Hathaway, of which the third edition was published as early as 1817; speeches from which those reported by Dr Tomline have been, in many instances, copied word for word, and in all have stood as the basis of his reports. At the same time we consider these memoirs as amusing and instructive, and we earnestly recommend them to all who feel a curiosity about political matters, or who partake with us in a sentiment of highest admiration for the memory of Pitt.

We cannot better employ this period of political tranquillity, than in presenting a rapid sketch of a few of the principal occurrences of Mr Pitt's life. His memoirs can now be read and his conduct estimated without prejudice, for the great measures of which he was the author, and which were adapted to the peculiar state of things in which he lived, have passed away beyond the reach and control of the present age. The age of Mr Pitt expired at the battle of Waterloo, and the statesmen and warriors who survived that battle, may regard his administration as a most brilliant episode, but as by no means belonging to the regular series and accustomed policy of British administrations. We, therefore, may consider ourselves almost in the light of a distant posterity of that generation, in which Mr Pitt lived, and we may examine and deliberate upon his measures with the same fairness and candor, with which we should discuss those of the earl of Clarendon or sir Robert Walpole.

In a review of a work of this nature we are necessarily obliged to exercise a great degree of forbearance, and to make a selection of those topics, which we think will be especially interesting. But it is not our intention to enter into any discussion on any of these topics; for we feel no disposition to take a share in the politics and prejudices which prevail in

Great Britain, nor do we believe that the readers of this journal would feel much indebted to us for encumbering our pages with dissertations, which have appeared long ago in much greater relief, upon the pages of foreign journals.

We shall begin with an account of Mr Pitt's birth and education, which we cannot too much regret or complain, should have been touched upon by Dr Tomline in a manner so brief and unsatisfactory. In the outset we again enter our protest, solemnly and sincerely, against such a hasty and arbitrary course as is pursued in this part of the biography, nor can we account it just to the memory of Mr Pitt, just to the natural and strong curiosity which the world most reasonably entertains, that his own private tutor, having enjoyed all those advantages, of which he makes a boast in the preface, and having already had fourteen years of preparation, should have undertaken to despatch the whole history of the early life of the son of lord Chatham, and of the minister of Great Britain at the age of twenty-five and for seventeen successive years,—in fifteen loosely printed octavo pages. According to this scale, men of common note would give but little trouble indeed to biographers and printers. We really think that this ignorance of Dr Tomline, or this indifference to the eager and rational curiosity of the world, merits the reprehension of all those, who have an opportunity of expressing their opinions publicly.

William Pitt was the second son of the first earl Chatham and of lady Hester, only daughter of Richard Grenville. He was born at Hayes, in Kent, the 28th of May, 1759. His mother is said to have been a woman of great strength of mind, of a most improved understanding, and of highly polished manners. Of the other two sons, the eldest, the present earl Chatham, was some years since much known as having been the leader of the Walcheren expedition; the younger, James Pitt, died at an early age in the West Indies, as a captain in the British navy. Of the two daughters, the eldest was married in 1774 to lord Mahon, and the youngest to Edward James Eliot, son of lord Eliot, in 1785. William Pitt, from the age of six to fourteen, was educated in his father's house, under the care of Dr Wilson. Notwithstanding great delicacy of health and constitution, he made a remarkable progress in his studies, and in the spring of 1773, he was sent by his father, who had resolved to devote him to the bar, to Pembroke Hall, in

Cambridge, in order to finish his education. On account of Mr Pitt's tender age and unconfirmed health, and his former private habits of education, Mr Wilson continued to live with him for several weeks in the same college apartment; but his studies were solely under the direction of the public tutors, who, according to a desire expressed by lord Chatham, devoted each one hour every day to his son. Mr Pitt's knowledge at this early age appears to have been very great, particularly in Greek and Latin. The only books, which lord Chatham expressed a desire his son should read, were Polybius and Thucydides. He had also read at this time the first six books of Euclid's elements, plane trigonometry, the elementary parts of algebra, and the two quarto volumes of Rutherforth's natural philosophy. Lord Chatham himself was in the habit of bestowing much time upon the education of his children, and seldom passed a day without reading a chapter in the bible to them. About this time Mr Pitt was attacked with so severe and protracted an illness, that he was able to reside only a short time at Cambridge, during the first three years; and the preservation of his life is justly to be ascribed to his extraordinary attention to diet and exercise, and to the unremitted and affectionate watchfulness of his family and friends. In consequence of this illness, he was prevented from taking the degree of bachelor in course, and was therefore admitted in the spring of 1776 to the degee of master of arts, to which he was entitled by his birth.

'While Mr Pitt,' says his biographer, 'was undergraduate, he never omitted attending chapel morning and evening, or dining in the public hall, except when prevented by indisposition. Nor did he pass a single evening out of the college walls. Indeed most of his time was spent with me; and exclusively of the satisfaction I had in superintending the education of a young man of his uncommon abilities and thirst for improvement, his sweetness of temper and vivacity of disposition endeared him to me in a degree which I should in vain attempt to express.'

It was Dr Tomline's rule to read with Mr Pitt alternately classics and mathematics, occasionally introducing other branches of learning, and there was scarcely a Greek or Latin classic of any eminence, whose works Mr Pitt and Dr Tomline did not read together. It was his habit and peculiar delight to compare the speeches delivered upon opposite sides of a question, and for this purpose he gave the preference to

Livy, Sallust, and Thucydides. 'And I believe it may be said with the strictest truth, that no one ever read the Greek language, even after devoting his whole life to the study of it, with greater facility than Mr Pitt did at the age of twenty-one.' It is not worth while to make any remarks about this expression of Dr Tomline, although we consider it as a most unguarded one. The world, we believe, has already acquired just notions concerning the early miraculous proficiency of men who turn out to be extraordinary, and scholars skilled in the study of the Greek language, and acquainted with the progress which individuals, probably endowed with a much higher degree of talent for the acquisition of languages than Mr Pitt possessed, have made in that most copious and most difficult tongue, will be able to attribute a proper portion of this expression to the honest partialities of the reverend author.

Mr Pitt was also very successful in his mathematical and philosophical studies, and he appears to have had a great fondness for the abstruse sciences. When about to leave Dr Tomline, he expressed a hope that he should at some future time find leisure to read Newton's Principia, and in the last period of his life he often declared, that he had never employed his time more profitably than in those studies. Mr Pitt was not fond of composition, though he possessed an 'elegant taste' for the beauties of the English poets, and occasionally in his youth wrote verses. He considered Middleton's life of Cicero, the political and historical works of lord Bolingbroke, and the writings of Hume and Robertson, as excellent models; but he could never be brought to admire Johnson's style, and much less that of Gibbon. Lord Chatham recommended to him Barrow's sermons, as particularly useful in furnishing a copiousness of language. It seems also that Mr Pitt was exceeding fond of Locke's essay on the human understanding, of which he made a complete analysis. Finally, Dr Tomline declares that no young man was ever more admired and beloved, or more studiously avoided every species of irregularity, notwithstanding his society was greatly sought after; and that from the age of seventeen he constantly passed his evenings in company. 'At this early period there was the same firmness of principle and rectitude, which marked his character more in the advanced stages of life.'

But if there is any thing touching and interesting in the

short life, of which we have just made a rapid abridgment, it is to be found in the sensible and affectionate letters of lord and lady Chatham to their son, William Pitt; and if there is any thing which ought to make the memory of that truly great man more beloved and revered than it already is, it is the natural and unaffected solicitude for the health, welfare, and good conduct of his son, every where displayed in these letters, as well as the high and delightful hopes which he had already the discernment to form of his child's promise and prospects. Dr Tomline has contented himself with informing us, in a single sentence, that both lord and lady Chatham bestowed infinite pains upon the education of William, as well as of all their children. This brevity we again regret, and we regret also most deeply, that he has been able to insert only five of those charming letters, from which we shall shortly give a few extracts, and which, in our poor opinion, are worth as many volumes of political histories and discussions. Indeed, it has been long matter of common notoriety, that the parents, particularly the mother, watched over the health and education of the son with the utmost care and perseverance, and we recollect to have heard an anecdote, which will in some degree illustrate the truth of the remark. Lord Chatham being engaged one day with a gentleman upon official business, William, then about thirteen years old, came into the room with a long copy of verses, requesting him to look at and correct them: 'go away now,' said the father, 'I am engaged; take them to your mother, and beg her to look over them for you.'

The following extracts are taken from a letter, dated Burton Pynsent, Oct. 9, 1773, to Mr Pitt upon his going to the university:

'*Burton Pynsent, Oct.* 9, 1773.

'Thursday's post brought us no letter from the dear traveller: we trust this day will prove more satisfactory; it is the happy day that gave us your brother, and will not be less in favor with all here, if it should give us, about four o'clock, an epistle from my dear William. By that hour, I reckon, we shall be warm in our cups, and shall not fail to pour forth, with renewed joy, grateful libations over the much wished tidings of your prosperous progress towards your destination. We compute, that yesterday brought you to the venerable aspect of alma mater; and that you are invested to day with the toga virilis. Your race of *manly* virtue and *useful* knowledge is now begun, and may the favor of heaven smile upon the noble career

'Little —— was really disappointed at not being in time to see you—a good mark for my young vivid friend. He is just as much compounded of the elements of *air* and *fire* as he was. A due proportion of terrestrial solidity will, I trust, come, and make him perfect. How happy, my loved boy, is it, that your mama and I can tell ourselves, there is at Cambridge *one*, without a beard, "and all the elements so mixed in him, that nature might stand up, and say, this is a man." I now take leave for today, not meaning this for what James calls a *regular* letter, but a flying thought, that wings itself towards my absent William. Horses are ready and all is birth-day.'

To this interesting letter lady Chatham added the following postcript:

'If more could be said expressive of feelings, my dearest boy, I would add a letter to this epistle, but as it is composed, I will only sign to its expressive contents,

'Your fond and loving mother,

HESTER CHATHAM.'

The first of the following letters was written by lord Chatham to Mr Pitt, when he was recovering from his illness which has been mentioned.

'*Burton Pynsent, Oct.* 30, 1773.

'With what ease of mind and joy of heart I write to my loved William, since Mr Wilson's comfortable letter of Monday! I do not mean to address you as a sick man: I trust in heaven, that *convalescent* is the only title I am to give you in the ailing tribe; and that you are now enjoying the happy advantage of Dr Glynn's acquaintance, as one of the cheerful and witty sons of Apollo, in his poetic, not his medical attribute. But though I indulge with inexpressible delight the thought of your returning health, I cannot help being a little in pain, lest you should *make more haste than good speed* to be well. Your mama has been before me, in suggesting that most useful proverb, *reculer pour mieux sauter*, useful to all, but to the ardent, *necessary*. You may indeed, my sweet boy, better than any one, practise this sage dictum, without any risque of being *thrown out* (as little James would say) in the *chase of learning*. All you want at present, is *quiet*; with this, if your ardor ἀριστεύει can be *kept in*, till you are stronger, you will make *noise* enough.'

'*Hayes, Sept.* 2, 1774.

'I write, my dearest William, the post just going out, only to thank you for your most welcome letter, and for the affectionate anxiety you express for my situation, left behind in the hospital, when our flying camp moved to Stowe. Gout has for the present

subsided, and seems to intend deferring his favors till winter, if autumn will do its duty and bless us with a course of steady weather; those days, which Madame de Sévigné so beautifully paints, *des jours filés d'or et de soye.*

'I have the pleasure to tell you, your mother and sisters returned perfectly well from Bucks, warm in praises of magnificent and princely Stowe; and full of due sentiments of the agreeable and kind reception they found there. No less than two dancings, in the short time they passed there. One escape from a wasp's nest, which proved only an adventure to talk of, by the incomparable skill and presence of mind of Mr Cotton, driving our girls in his carriage with four very fine horses, and no postillion. They fell into an *ambuscade* of wasps more fierce than *Pandours*, who beset these coursers of spirit, not inferior to *Xanthus* and *Podarges*, and stung them to madness; when disdaining the master's hand, he turned them short into a hedge, threw some of them, as he meant to do; and leaping down, seized the bridles of the leaders, which afforded time for your sisters to get out safe and sound, their honor, in point of courage, intact, as well as their bones; for they are celebrated not a little on their composure in this alarming situation.'

'My readers will be sorry to learn, that the following is the last letter of lord Chatham, which I am able to submit to their perusal; it was written only seven or eight months before his death.'

'*Hayes, Sept. 22, 1777.*

'How can I employ my reviving pen so well as by addressing a few lines to the *hope* and *comfort* of my life, my dear William? You will have pleasure to see, under my own hand, that I mend every day, and that I am all but well. I have been this morning to Camden-place, and sustained, most manfully, a visit, and all the idle talk thereof, for above an hour by Mr Norman's clock; and returned home, untired, to dinner, where I eat like a farmer. Lord Mahon has confounded, not convinced, the incorrigible *soi-disant* Dr Wilson. Dr Franklin's lightning, rebel as he is, stands proved the more innocent; and Wilson's nobs must yield to the pointed conductors. On Friday, lord Mahon's indefatigable spirit is to exhibit another incendium, to lord Mayor, foreign ministers, and all lovers of philosophy and the good of society; and means to illuminate the horizon with a little bonfire of twelve hundred fagots and a double edifice. Had our dear friend been born sooner, Nero and the second Charles could never have amused themselves by reducing to ashes the two noblest cities in the world. My hand begins to demand repose;—so, with my best compliments to Aristotle, Homer, Thucydides, Xenophon, not forgetting the civilians, and law of nations tribe, adieu, my dearest William. Your ever most affectionate father,

'CHATHAM.'

But it is time to hasten to Mr Pitt's first appearance in parliament. This event was remarkable on two accounts; it was the first setting forth of a man who was in a short time, and for a long time, so eminent and powerful, and it was also the first appearance of one who not only equalled, but even surpassed the expectations, extravagant as they certainly were, which were entertained concerning him. The great success and reputation of lord Chatham's administration, and his wonderful intellect and commanding personal qualities had prepared for that son, whose careful education and great talents were well known, an elevated and spacious niche in the anticipations of the public. It was also well known that lord Chatham had regarded his second son from his tenderest years as that child, above all others, who was destined to preserve and magnify the name of that 'terrible cornet of horse,' whom sir Robert Walpole was so desirous to 'muzzle.'

Lord Chatham, having been a minister and a statesman, was perfectly acquainted with the manner of education most useful for his son to receive; and he had fidelity, perseverance, and paternal affection enough to bestow himself, or procure for his child that political and historical knowledge, and accustom him to those habits of reflection and reasoning, of which the value was instantly felt, and for which, so great an usury was so soon rendered. These were the advantages which William Pitt the younger possessed; and accordingly, we observe him upon his entrance into the house of commons at the age of twenty-two, stepping at once upon that broad and firm pedestal, which these circumstances had prepared for him, and in his first essay speaking with the ease, confidence, dignity, and presence of mind of a statesman, who had been declaiming for fifty years, 'nailed to the north wall of opposition,' for it was there that Mr Pitt began. His first speech was made upon Mr Burke's bill for reform in the civil list. Dr Tomline declares that Mr Pitt did not intend to speak, but some gentlemen calling out, as is the custom in the house of commons, the name of Mr Pitt at the conclusion of lord Nugent's speech, and the house evidently waiting to receive him, he thought it necessary to rise. Dr Tomline remarks, that 'from the beginning he was collected and unembarrassed. Never were higher expectations more completely answered; such was the fluency and accuracy of his language, such the perspicuity of arrangement, and such the closeness

of reasoning and manly and dignified elocution.' The next day Mr Pitt wrote to Dr Tomline to inform him that he had heard his own voice in the house of commons, and expressed, in a modest way, his satisfaction at the manner in which he had been received. We also find, in the parliamentary history for the year 1781, the following notice of Mr Pitt's first speech, a notice the more valuable, as it was probably written the evening the speech was delivered.

'The honorable *William Pitt*, son to the late earl of Chatham, now rose for the first time, and in a speech directly in answer to matter that had fallen out in the course of the debate, displayed great and astonishing powers of eloquence. His voice is rich and striking, full of melody and force; his manner easy and elegant; his language beautiful and luxuriant. He gave in his first essay a specimen of eloquence not unworthy the son of his immortal parent.'

Mr Pitt made three speeches this session of parliament, and upon a division he was each time in a small minority. These speeches are reported at length in the parliamentary history, and the two first in Hathaway. His last speech was made on the 12th of June, on a motion of Mr Fox, 'that the house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the present state of the American war.' In this speech, he took occasion to express the opinion held by himself concerning the American war. We shall give an extract from this speech, in order to furnish evidence, that the people of this country are not less indebted to Mr Pitt, as far as opinions were concerned, than to his great father.

'A noble lord, who spoke early in the heat of his zeal, had called it an holy war. For his part, though the honorable gentleman who made the motion, and some other gentlemen had been more than once in the course of the debate severely reprehended for calling it a wicked and accursed war, he was persuaded and would affirm, that it was an accursed, wicked, barbarous, cruel, unnatural, unjust, and diabolical war. It was conceived in injustice, it was nurtured and brought forth in folly; its footsteps were marked with blood, slaughter, persecution and devastation; in truth, every thing which went to constitute moral depravity and human turpitude were to be found in it.'

It is difficult to judge of these speeches beyond what relates to the course of argument and thought, as the speeches of the debates in which Mr Pitt took a part are evidently all reported

by the same hand, and there is, therefore, a great uniformity of expression and style. It would be idle, we think, to say that these speeches, as they stand in the book, are remarkable other than as the productions of a very young man; on the contrary, we think that that uniform, monotonous, and often heavy manner and habit of excessive dilating, which in later life emphatically marked Mr Pitt's oratorical compositions, were already quite conspicuous. At the same time, they are most remarkable in another way, which is, that throughout there is manifested the most genuine dignity and self-respect, the most perfect simplicity, and presence of mind, but not a sentence or a syllable, which savours of vanity, presumption, or hardihood. We can easily conceive the delight and admiration with which the British house of commons was inspired, in beholding the son of lord Chatham, scarcely twenty-three years of age, stand up in the midst of those experienced and distinguished statesmen, without dismay or concern, and acquit himself with a dignity, modesty, and success so entirely astonishing and praiseworthy, as to call forth from Mr. Dundas, at that time opposed to him, the following remarkable panegyric, pronounced in the presence of the whole house; 'I must declare, that I find myself impelled to rejoice in the good fortune of my country, and my fellow subjects, who are destined at some future day to derive the most important services from so happy an union of first rate abilities, high integrity, bold and honest independency of conduct, and the most persausive eloquence.'

With respect to the manner in which Mr Pitt obtained his first seat in parliament, he failed in the general election of 1780, as a candidate to represent the university of Cambridge, but he was immediately after returned for the borough of Appleby, by the interest of sir James Lowther, and at the request of the duke of Rutland;—a nobleman who always manifested a great friendship for Mr Pitt, and at his death in 1787, appointed Mr Pitt one of the guardians of his children, and trustee of his estate with a legacy of £3000. It is a curious but well known fact, that Mr Pitt's father also received a legacy of £10,000 from Sarah, the celebrated dutchess of Marlborough, on account of 'the noble defence he had made for the support of the laws of England and to prevent the ruin of his country.' Before entering into parliament, Mr Pitt became a resident of Lincoln's inn in the spring of 1780,

and was called to the bar and went the western circuit the summer of the same year. The summer of 1781 he again went a circuit, and as his professional engagements were at that time brought to a close, we beg leave to recommend to the attention of the reader the following note, copied from the work before us.

'When he first made his brilliant display in parliament, those at the bar, who had seen little of him, expressed surprise; but a few who had heard him once speak in a sort of mock debate at the Crown and Anchor tavern, when a club, called the Western Circuit Club, was dissolved, agreed that he had then displayed all the various species of eloquence, for which he was afterwards celebrated. Before he distinguished himself in the house of commons, he certainly looked seriously to the law as a profession. The late Mr Justice Rooke told me, that Mr Pitt dangled seven days with a junior brief and a single guinea fee, waiting till a cause of no sort of importance should come on in the court of common pleas. At Mr Pitt's instance, an annual dinner took place for some years at Richmond hill, the party consisting of lord Erskine, lord Redesdale, sir William Grant, Mr Bond, Mr Leycester, Mr Jekyll, and others; and I well remember a dinner with Mr Pitt and several of his private friends at the Boar's Head in Eastcheap, in celebration of Shakspeare's Falstaff. We were all in high spirits, quoting and alluding to Shakspeare the whole day; and it appeared that Mr Pitt was as well and familiarly read in the poet's works as the best Shakspearians present. But to speak of his conviviality is needless. After he was minister, he continued to ask his old circuit intimates to dine with him, and his manners were unaltered.'

Parliament met again on the 27th November. Mr Pitt spoke for the first time upon the report of the address in answer to his majesty's speech. He spoke with great warmth against the continuance of the American war, which fruitlessly wasted the blood and treasure of the kingdom, and he also delivered himself in terms of strong censure of those ministers, 'who by their fatal system had led the country to a situation which threatened the final dissolution of the empire, if not prevented by timely, wise, and vigorous efforts.' This speech was received with high applause in the house of commons. The reader of those debates will observe, that most extravagant compliments were paid to Mr Pitt on that occasion by Mr Fox, but particularly by Mr Dundas. We cannot but here observe, that the habit of offering exaggerated and un-

meaning commendation to talents and learning has been long practised in the house of commons, and abounds especially with those who are politically opposed, and whose measures are at the same time subject of violent, and to our feelings unbecoming crimination and condemnation. Neither of these habits is to be observed in the same degree, in the debates of the American congress. Part of this difference may be accounted for, from the circumstance, that as the government has no representative, no minister in either branch of congress, the principal cause and stimulant of personal censure or compliment does not exist; for one naturally leads to the other. Mr Fox, after striving to demonstrate for two hours, with every species of vehement declamation, that Mr Pitt, in his public capacity, was either an idiot, or knave, or madman, would express himself at the close of his harangue concerning the endowments, the accomplishments, and the private virtues of that gentleman, with such a gentleness, sweetness, sincerity, force, and persuasion, as to remind us of the most splendid panegyrics of classic literature, or of the melodious strains of classic mythology. In the particular case of Mr Pitt, we have somewhere read the insinuation, that Mr Dundas, discovering at once the great talents of that individual, and foreseeing the power he was likely to possess in the country, had early taken his precautions to conciliate the favorable opinion of Mr Pitt, and to prepare himself to enter into any league, which circumstances might make advantageous. The sagacity and prudence of the northern statesman were, in this instance, well rewarded, for he clung to the treasury bench with Mr Pitt till 1801, and as a token of his private friendship it has always been said, that no man had the honor of emptying so many bottles of old port with the chancellor, as the lord advocate.

In this parliament Mr Pitt took a conspicuous part in eight vehement, protracted, and most important debates, all in relation to the state of the nation, and having an immediate tendency to change the course of measures, and voted in four desperate minorities, and in several encouraging ones, till at last on the 20th of March 1782, lord North declared in the house of commons, 'that his majesty had come to a full determination to change his ministers.' The 28th of the same month it was announced to the house, that a new administration had been formed, at the head of which was placed the marquis of Rockingham, the only marquis at that time in

Great Britain, as first lord commissioner of the treasury; and lord Shelburne the first marquis of Lansdowne, and Mr Fox were appointed secretaries of state. It is well established in all the histories of the day, that the minister before accepting the seals stipulated for the following condition with the king: that peace should be made with the Americans and their independence acknowledged. Various situations were offered to Mr Pitt, and among others, that of vice treasurer of Ireland, a place which his father held; but he refused to accept any situation which should pledge him to the measures of administration without giving him a seat in the cabinet.

It was another circumstance, equally favorable and fortunate for Mr Pitt's advancement, that in the very commencement of his career he should have been able to take advantage of all the popularity at that time possessed by Mr Fox and his powerful party, and should have been seconded by the zeal and ardor of the whole nation, who went heart and hand with that party in their triumph over lord North. It will be seen in the sequel, and it is another proof of Pitt's great sagacity and judgment, that he was the only person who took advantage of these auspicious circumstances.

By the death of the marquis of Rockingham in July, the administration was dissolved, and the king appointed lord Shelburne to succeed him as first lord of the treasury. We learn from the history of the times, that when lord Chatham formed a new administration in 1766, lord Shelburne was placed at the head of the department of the colonies. This office he resigned in 1768, and continued firmly and steadily in opposition to all measures connected with America, till lord North's resignation. His lordship was not accounted a man of great talents; but he possessed vast political knowledge, greatly improved by a study of foreign affairs and long experience in the ministry and legislature of his own country. Among the causes of the great aversion and hostility of the Rockingham party, 'the great body of the whigs,' to this nobleman, may be mentioned a jealousy and contention for power, a symptom of which will be discovered in the sending of Mr Oswald by lord Shelburne, and of Mr Grenville by Mr Fox at the same time to Paris, both to negotiate peace with America. At any rate, most certain it is, that when lord Shelburne's promotion took place, and when, towards the end of the autumn, Mr Pitt waited, by appointment, upon Mr Fox

to propose to him to return to office, Mr Fox observed to Mr Pitt, that it was impossible for him to belong to any administration, of which lord Shelburne was the head; upon which Mr Pitt remarked, that it would be useless for him to enter into any further discussion, 'as he did not come to betray lord Shelburne.'

Mr Pitt entered into lord Shelburne's administration as chancellor of the exchequer, when he was twenty-three years and a little more than one month old. This part of Mr Pitt's history is peculiarly interesting to us, as it relates chiefly to the peace with America. It appears from Dr Franklin's private correspondence, that on the 6th of April the Rockingham administration sent Mr Oswald to Paris, with a letter to Dr Franklin, in order to ascertain at what time and place it would be agreeable and convenient to hold conferences for a general peace. April 27th Mr Oswald again received his majesty's orders to return to Paris, to inform Dr Franklin that his majesty's government had consented to conduct the negotiations at that place. On the 1st of May, Mr Grenville, son of the author of the stamp act, left London with a letter from Mr Fox to Dr Franklin; but it appeared afterwards that he had no instructions or powers to treat with the American minister. This was supposed to be owing to a bill, called the enabling act, never having been passed; but it is exceedingly probable that Mr Grenville's commission was in some degree to ascertain the wishes and feelings of the American minister. At any rate he did nothing; and Dr Franklin does not appear to have been well satisfied with his conduct. He particularly complains of an extract, supposed to be from a letter of Mr Grenville and published in the London newspapers, speaking with exultation of a point of important information, obtained at their first interview by this gentleman. This was a copy of the treaty of America with France, which Dr Franklin declares he gave to Mr Grenville. It was however published, at the time it was concluded, in all the American newspapers, in Almon's Remembrancer, and in other well known publications, and could, therefore, be no important secret. At the formation of lord Shelburne's ministry, in July 1782, the negotiations were continued by Mr Oswald and Mr Fitzherbert, now lord St Helens, who had replaced Mr Grenville.*

* Mr Coxe, in his history of the house of Austria, vol. ii, p. 603, has thought proper to make the following remark, that Mr Fitzherbert, in talking with

On the 21st of February 1783, lord John Cavendish moved certain resolutions, expressing disapprobation of the preliminaries of the general peace. These resolutions gave rise to a most vehement and protracted debate, in which Mr Pitt greatly distinguished himself. In referring to an observation of Mr Fox, he said:

'I will at the same time imitate the honorable gentleman's candor, and confess that I too have my ambition. High situations and great influence are desirable objects to most men; and objects which I am not ashamed to pursue; which I am ever solicitous to possess, whenever they can be acquired with honor and retained with dignity. On these respectable conditions I am not less ambitious to be great and powerful, than it is natural for a young man to be, with such brilliant examples before him.'

Alluding to a material and impending change in his own condition, he exclaimed:

'Fortuna sævo læta negotio, et
Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,
Transmutat incertos Honores,
Nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.
Laudo mamentem: si celeres quatit
Pennas, resigno quæ dedit—:'

With an admirable presence of mind, which never forsook him, he here paused, and conscious that the words immediately following, '*Et mea virtute me involvo*,' might seem to imply a higher idea of his own merit or disinterestedness than it would become him to avow, he cast his eyes on the floor. A moment or two of silence elapsed, while all attention was directed towards him, from every quarter of the house. During this interval he slowly drew his handkerchief from his pocket, passed it once or twice across his lips; and recovering as it were from his temporary embarrassment, he added with emphasis, striking his hand on the table,

'———— probamque
Pauperiem sine dote quæro.'

Mr De Vergennes, succeeded in alarming Franklin, Adams, and Jay, and prevailed on them to sign separate and provisional articles, which severed America from France. The true version, however, of this departure from the spirit of the treaty with France is, that the American commission had reason to believe the French were desirous to place restrictions upon the fisheries; an inference justly to be drawn from an intercepted letter from Mr De Marbois to Mr De Vergennes, to which archdeacon Coxe refers, though it is by no means of great extent, nor does it contain a regular and systematic plan for exciting a spirit of discord in the States.

A division took place very late in the morning, when two hundred and seven appeared against, and one hundred and ninety for ministers. They immediately declared that they should resign. The king offered the first seat of the treasury bench to Mr Pitt, and in order to allow him time to consider of that proposal, the house of commons, by a continuance of Mr Dundas' motion, adjourned for three days. This offer was repeated to Mr Pitt on the 2d of March, but he maintained great inflexibility, in resisting the wishes of the king, and perhaps in no event of his life did he manifest deeper penetration and judgment, the soundness and correctness of which were perfectly confirmed by circumstances that afterwards took place. With the feelings of the nation, at that time dejected and indignant at the treaty of peace, he could not have withstood the whole power and unsparing attacks of Mr Fox and of lord North united; a contest which, under different circumstances, he afterwards conducted with infinite skill, perseverance, and success. One of the letters of the king, relating to this matter, concluded with the following paragraph:

'I trust, therefore, Mr Pitt will exert himself tomorrow to plan his mode of filling up the offices that will be vacant, so as to be able on Wednesday morning to accept the situation his character and talents fit him to hold, when I shall be in town before twelve ready to receive him.'

To which Mr Pitt returned the following answer the same day:

'Mr Pitt received this morning the honor of your majesty's gracious commands. With infinite pain he feels himself under the necessity of humbly expressing to your majesty that, with every sentiment of dutiful attachment to your majesty, and zealous desire to contribute to the public service, it is utterly impossible for him, after the fullest consideration of the situation in which things stand, and of what passed yesterday in the house of commons, to think of undertaking, under such circumstances, the situation which your majesty has had the condescension and goodness to propose to him. As what he now presumes to write is the final result of his best reflection, he should think himself criminal if, by delaying till tomorrow, humbly to lay it before your majesty, he shonld be the cause of your majesty's not immediately turning your royal mind to such a plan of arrangement, as the exigency of the present circumstances may, in your majesty's wisdom, seem to require.'

One of the most important topics in a biography of Mr

Pitt is, of course, his political intercourse with Mr Fox. Mr Fox was ten years older than Mr Pitt. He obtained a family borough at the age of nineteen, and was in lord North's administration, either as lord commissioner of the admiralty or commissioner of the treasury, from 1770 to 1774. In consequence of a slight difference of opinion, concerning the manner in which I. Horne, afterwards Tooke, should be committed for a libel upon the speaker of the house of commons, it is said, that Mr Fox received from the hands of one of the messengers of the house, while actually standing in conversation with the minister, the following laconic note: 'His majesty has thought proper to order a new commission of treasury to be made out, in which I do not see your name. NORTH.' About this time also began the troubles in the colonies, and as we possess secret chronicles of these matters, it remains for those who now read the histories of those times, to determine in their own minds how much Mr Fox's subsequent opposition to lord North's administration is to be attributed to personal affront and animosity. It has already been said, that Mr Pitt found Mr Fox on the opposition benches in 1781, and continued there with him for one session. The first public difference of opinion, as reported by Dr Tomline, took place in June 1782, on a bill of lord Mahon's for preventing bribery at elections. There is nothing remarkable in the speeches delivered on this occasion, as they stand in the debates of the day, except that Mr Pitt takes occasion to tell Mr Fox that he could not have read the bill. Mr Pitt, however, failed in his object, by a vote of sixty-six to forty. Dr Tomline states, in another place, that the last time they met in a private room was on the occasion of Mr Pitt's visit in relation to lord Shelburne's administration, which is properly the date of the origin of their political opposition and animosity. It is impossible not to be struck with the fact above stated from Dr Tomline, as well as with the extreme and unrespited distinction and separation of parties, and the unfailing and anxious caution, which the friends of those gentlemen must have exercised, in order to prevent the meeting of two individuals, who lived for twenty-four years in the same quarter of London, and in that class of English society which is remarkable for conviviality and hospitality.

It is not necessary to search for other reasons and motives of political enmity and hostility, or for impulses of ambition

and love of power to account for the hopeless separation of these two statesmen. A sufficient cause of it is found, in a proceeding equally famous and ridiculous in English story, the union of Mr Fox and lord North;—that 'noble lord in the blue ribbon,' whom Mr Fox reproached and reviled, condemned, pursued, and persecuted with every epithet of ridicule, insult and provocation for seven years; whom he threatened to bring to the block, which his weak and wicked administration well deserved; and for whom one of his great political friends declared in the commons, that he kept an impeachment ready drawn in his pocket;—of whom Mr Fox said, over and over again, in parliament, (we quote from his speeches collected and published in 1815, by I. Wright, to which the distribuatur of lord Erskine is affixed,) 'that he had carried the system of corruption to an infinitely greater extent than sir Robert Walpole,' whom he accused 'of folly, supineness, and ignorance;' 'of madness and delusive arts,' of 'acting under the grossest and dullest ignorance;' of having, 'from corrupt and concealed motives of some powerful criminal influence, allured the country to the verge of destruction;' of having 'employed the most wicked means to corrupt the house, and therefore deserving of public execration and exemplary punishment;' and of whom he declared, that 'he trusted that ministers would hear their measures censured at the tribunal of justice and expiate them on the public scaffold;' and of whom, just twelve months before he united with him in opposition to the Shelburne administration, and six months before he formed with him the celebrated coalition, he made the following declaration in the commons: 'From the moment, when he should make any terms with one of them, he would rest satisfied to be called the most infamous of men; he could not, for an instant, think of a coalition with men who, in every public and private transaction as ministers, had shown themselves void of every principle of honor and honesty;—in the hands of such men he would not trust his honor even for a minute.' In this great inconsistency of Mr Fox, to which the flimsy and weak pretences and apologies of Mr Sheridan and other friends, did but add ridicule and disgrace, and for which but a feeble apology is afforded by the example of the union of sir Robert Walpole with lord Sunderland, in 1720, (a union never cordial, and under which sir Robert never acted, the only parallel to the case of Mr Fox and lord North, with which we are acquaint-

ed in English history since the revolution,) begun the avowed and irreconcilable hostility of Mr Pitt, and as truly begun the decay of the great personal popularity of Mr Fox, a popularity by which he had succeeded in overthrowing the administration of lord North. It is not, however, our purpose to bring the conduct of Mr Fox further into notice, than will be sufficient to illustrate and justify the conduct of Mr Pitt.

We left Mr Pitt declaring in the house, that after the resignation of lord Shelburne, he was ready to give up his place, the moment a successor should be appointed. From this time to the 1st of April, there was no responsible government in England. The finances became disordered; negotiations with foreign countries were at a stand; and the whole kingdom was in a state of alarm and confusion. This period is emphatically called the interregnum, and as it is without an example in the history of Great Britain, and as Mr Pitt's conduct during this perilous and anxious interval, exhibits a most remarkable degree of firmness, penetration, and judgment, we shall once more intreat our readers to pardon us, if we devote a few paragraphs to the account of this matter. On the 3d of March, the king, entertaining a great personal dislike of Mr Fox, and a strong aversion to his whole party, sent for lord North and proposed to place him at the head of the treasury. Lord North gave his majesty to understand that he was under such engagements with Mr Fox, that he could form a part of no administration, from which that gentleman should be excluded. Accordingly, on the 13th of March, the duke of Portland received powers to form an administration. This attempt also failed, owing to an unwillingness in the king to take the privy seal from lord Thurlow, a point upon which the coalition were inflexible. For this fact, we refer to the writers of the day, for here, as in every other part of Dr Tomline's work, we have to complain of a great want of private details. On the 24th of March, Mr Coke, well known in Great Britain and this country, for his splendid agricultural improvements, made a motion, of which he had given notice on the 18th. This motion at that time awakened a most general sentiment throughout Great Britain. He moved an address, praying his majesty to form an administration entitled to the confidence of the people. We may readily conceive that the commons and the people were by this time exceedingly heated with political discussions, and irritated

either at the delay manifested in forming a ministry, or at the unreasonable clamors and unpardonable inconsistency of the coalition. The debate was continued to a great length, though without much violence ;—Mr Pitt and other members of consideration, allowing that the proceeding was constitutional, and that parliament could at all times, without any breach of royal prerogative, take upon itself to advise in all matters, in which the well-being of the empire was concerned. The motion passed with only four dissenting votes. The address was presented to the king, to which he replied, that 'it was his earnest desire to do every thing in his power to comply with the wishes of his faithful commons.' The 31st March, lord Surrey made a motion, which had a similar tendency, but which, after a declaration from Mr Pitt that he had resigned, was withdrawn. On the 2d of April the new administration was announced ; the duke of Portland, first lord of the treasury, lord North and Mr Fox, secretaries of state.

Between the sessions of parliament, Mr Pitt went to Paris in the months of September and October with Mr Wilberforce, and his brother in law, Mr Eliot. Dr Tomline contents himself with saying, that he was received with great marks of distinction. But many things must have happened to Mr Pitt in his interviews with the court and with remarkable individuals, exceedingly curious to be known, and of which we receive no account from his biographer.

The definitive treaty of peace with this country was signed during this administration, for which purpose Mr Hartley, the old friend of Dr Franklin, was sent to Paris. This treaty hardly differed from the provisional articles, so vehemently denounced by the coalition ; and it is somewhat remarkable that Mr Hartley himself should have spoken and voted against these articles ; more especially, as he maintained a correspondence with Dr Franklin upon the subject for many months, and from the tenor of his letters we should have thought that he would have been one of the last of his majesty's subjects to object to an honorable peace with America. Mr Hartley is well known by his correspondence with Dr Franklin, and was in fact a man of great integrity and of a remarkable character. The following anecdote is related of him. He was member of parliament for Hull, and his speeches were intolerably long and intolerably dull. One day that he had exhausted the patience of all present, and had thinned the com-

mons from three hundred to eighty members, he unexpectedly moved, in order to illustrate some statements, that the riot act should be read. Burke, who sat upon the same bench, and had been bursting with impatience for several hours, having resolved to speak upon the same subject, jumped up, and with great warmth exclaimed, 'the riot act, my dear friend, the riot act, to what purpose, don't you see that the mob is completely dispersed?'

The coalition perished in the fate of the India bill, which was rejected in the lords, though on a motion in the commons, that the speaker do leave the chair, ministers had a vote of two hundred and seventeen to a hundred and three. Just before the ministry was dismised, an affair took place that created great warmth and alarm, and that deserves to be recorded amongst those events, which make this period of English history so truly memorable. Lord temple, an officer of the household of his majesty, is said to have received the following note, written in the hand of the king: 'that he should deem those who should vote for the India bill, not only not his friends, but his enemies, and if lord Temple could put this in stronger words, he had authority to do it.' In consequence of this intimation of the opinion of his father, the prince of Wales, who had before voted in the minority in the house of lords on the bill, thought fit to be absent at its third reading. The opinion of the king and the manner in which it had been communicated became public, and gave much offence, and excited great alarm in those who already regarded the prerogatives of the crown with jealousy and apprehension. The commons did not suffer this matter to pass without severe notice, and a motion of Mr Baker, containing this resolution, 'that to report any opinion, or pretended opinions of his majesty, upon any bill pending in either house of parliament, is a high crime and misdemeanor,' produced one of the most violent and stormy debates recorded in parliamentary history, and was finally accepted by a vote of a hundred and fifty-three to eighty. The king took advantage of the fate of the India bill to dismiss the ministers. At twelve o'clock on the night of the 18th of December 1784, a messenger delivered to the two secretaries an order to deliver up the seals of their offices, and send them by the under secretaries, as a personal interview on the occasion would be disagreeable to his majesty. The seals were given to lord Temple, who wrote letters of dismissal to the other cabinet ministers.

At the age of twenty-five years and seven months, Mr Pitt became first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, and continued in that office till 1801. Lord Thurlow, Mr Kenyon, (afterwards lord Kenyon,) Mr Grenville, (the present lord Grenville,) Mr Dundas, (afterwards lord Melville,) and George Rose, filled other offices in this celebrated administration. Mr Pitt, having now ascertained that Mr. Fox and lord North had destroyed their popularity by the coalition and the India bill, foresaw that the confidence of the king and the good opinion of the nation would sustain him, till the next elections, against a majority of the house of commons.

There is no doubt, but that the king experienced a relief and a degree of satisfaction, when this event was fully accomplished, to which he had been a stranger for many years. Since the American war, he never could have been well pleased with his own ministry, for the people detested lord North, and he himself detested Mr Fox; and till Mr Pitt possessed sufficient reputation for ability and integrity to be entitled to govern the country, he was forced to submit himself, or to cause the people to submit to great sacrifices. It may be doubted whether, with the exception of the Pelham there was any administration in Great Britain, satisfactory both to the king and the people, from the accession of the house of Brunswick to the time upon which we have just entered. To speak only of distinguished individuals, sir Robert Walpole and lord Chatham were personally disagreeable to their sovereigns, and lords Bute and North to the people. Indeed, it was scarcely to be expected that, under the two first Georges, any minister could gratify the German prejudices of the king and yet serve the interests of the nation. If Mr Fox had been capable of putting a guard upon his passions, and of speaking at all times in a becoming manner of the conduct and character of the king, it is possible that he might have been rescued from the excesses of his private life; he might have possessed a high moral character, and have exercised a pure and aspiring ambition for the benefit of his country. Mr. Fox's ill success in life must be attributed to his vicious education, for it is agreed by friend and foe, that no politician ever possessed a more exalted intellect, a more winning address, a milder and more placable disposition, and an ambition, which under just control could have pursued sublimer objects.

Meantime Mr Pitt experienced great delays, difficulties, and disappointments in completing a list of administration. Many individuals of rank and consideration, who united with him in political tenets, and whose succor he had reason to expect, nevertheless wanted courage and confidence to assume responsibility in those distressed and disordered times. Dr Tomline relates, that the only sleepless night Mr Pitt ever had, when in good health, was the night of his friend Temple's resignation, just after he had resolved to throw himself into the gap; an action which most of his friends looked upon as leading to self destruction.

This is the most remarkable period of Mr Pitt's life. Nay, we doubt exceedingly whether any period in any statesman's life whatsoever, can be pointed out, presenting so many obstacles and difficulties; that, on the one hand, he might so easily have avoided, but which, on the other, he surmounted with such consummate skill and success. Assisted by works, relating to the history of this time, we shall follow the order marked out by Dr Tomline, and present as copious an account as our limits will permit, of the extraordinary proceedings of opposition, and the no less extraordinary proceedings of the ministry; for we scarcely know any period in the annals of Great Britain or of this country, which merits in a higher degree to be recommended to the deliberation of politicians and statesmen. On the 22d December 1783, Mr Erskine moved, the house being in a committe of the whole house on the state of the nation, that the chairman be instructed to move the house, that the address from which we have extracted the portions that follow, should be presented to his majesty.

'Most gracious sovereign,

'We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, think ourselves bound in duty humbly to represent to your majesty, that alarming reports of an intended dissolution of parliament have gone forth.

'Your majesty's faithful commons, deeply affected by these important considerations, impressed with the highest reverence and affection for your majesty's person, and anxious to preserve the lustre and safety of your government, do humbly beseech your majesty to suffer your faithful commons to proceed on the business of the session, the furtherance of which is so essentially necessary to public prosperity, and that your majesty will be graciously pleased to hearken to the advice of your faithful commons, and not to the secret advice of particular persons, who may

have private interests of their own, separate from the true interests of your majesty and your people.'

Mr Pitt was not at this time a member, his seat being vacated in consequence of his ministerial appointment. The chief weight of the tempest fell, therefore, upon Mr Dundas; but he had rode out too many gales in the house of commons, to shrink or be alarmed, even riding as the ministry then were, hardly at single anchor. Mr Dundas, having alluded with great severity to the coalition, lord North retorted in the following witty manner,—

'It was said on a former day, that a starling ought to be placed in this house, and taught to speak the words "coalition! coalition! cursed coalition!" Now for my part, I think that while there is in this house an honorable gentleman, who never fails, let what will be the subject of debate, to take an opportunity to curse the coalition, there will be no occasion for the starling: and while he continues to speak by rote and without any fixed idea, I think what he says will make just as much impression, as if the starling himself were to utter his words. [Here the house fell into a violent fit of laughter.] As to the coalition and the abuse which was so often thrown upon it, they always bring to my mind two persons, for whom I felt no inconsiderable share of concern. These were two men shut up in the Eddystone light-house to mend the fire; they were of different political principles, and, therefore, though they were shut out from all intercourse with the rest of mankind, and though they might by their conversation have amused one another, yet they never exchanged a word with each other for six weeks, and had rather let the fire go out, and see all the navy of England dashed to pieces under them, than that one should consent to give up the most trivial point to the other.'

By another motion, the opposition appointed the day when the commons should meet after the christmas holidays. This proceeding was as much against the established practice of the house, as the transacting of any business during the short absence of an individual, made necessary by the creation of a minister.

This is the period of an affair which reflects the highest lustre on the principles and character of Mr Pitt.

"During the recess, the clerkship of the pells,* in the gift of the

* Clerk of the pells is an officer of the exchequer. He is appointed for life by the commissioners of the treasury, and as the office may be exercised by a deputy, it is a valuable sinecure. He is called *pells*, from the circ.

first lord of the treasury, became vacant by the death of sir Edward Walpole. Mr Pitt, who had only a small younger brother's fortune, and, to engage in the service of his country, had given up a lucrative and honorable profession, in which his eloquence and talents must have insured him success, could not perhaps have been justly censured, if he had availed himself of this opportunity to secure a permanent and adequate income; especially as his present situation of minister was, in his own judgment, as well as in that of every other person, extremely precarious; and in any case, its emoluments not defraying its necessary expenses, it afforded no prospect of pecuniary compensation; but under existing circumstances, he disdained to convert this event to his own private advantage. He neither accepted the office himself, nor conferred it upon a relation or friend; nor did he dispose of it with a view of increasing his political influence. He gave it to colonel Barre, upon condition of his resigning a pension of £3000 a year, which was nearly equal to the value of the office; and thus a saving to that amount was made to the public.'

Lord Thurlow, in speaking upon this subject in the house of lrods,

" Acknowledged that he had been shabby enough to advise Mr Pitt to take this office, as it had so fairly fallen into his hands; and he believed he should have been shabby enough to have done so himself, as other great and exalted characters had so recently set him the example; and he was so shabby as to think, that there was no occasion for him to tower above his noble predecessors in office, and to aspire to higher acts of disinterestedness and spirit. But Mr Pitt with notions of purity, not only very uncommon in these degenerate days, but scarcely paralleled in the purest times of Greece and Rome, had nobly preferred the public to the consideration of his own interest."—I saw colonel Barre,' continues bishop Tomline, ' soon after this offer was made to him, and nothing could exceed the warm terms in which he spoke of it in a public view.—" Sir, it is the act of a man, who feels that he stands upon a high eminence, in the eyes of that country, which he is destined to govern."

' On the 12th of January,' pursues the biographer, ' the day on which parliament met after the recess, Mr Fox, at the unusual hour of half past two, rose to move the order of the day, for the house to go into a committee upon the state of the nation. This he did, for the purpose of getting possession of the house, and preventing Mr Pitt from bringing forward any business, till his own motions should be disposed of. He was, as he must have foreseen would

cumstance of entering, on a parchment roll, monies received and paid—' Pellis receptorum'—and—' pellis exituum.'

be the case, soon interrupted in his speech, by those members who had been re-elected, and who successively appeared to take the oaths ;* and among the rest, by Mr Pitt, who had been chosen again for Appleby.'

We have introduced the last passage, partly to show the unfair and unparliamentary conduct of Mr Fox, and partly to quote for the amusement of our readers the pedantic and absurd parody delivered by Mr Erskine, in a speech on this motion, and applied to the early and present conduct of Mr. Pitt.

'Such in a few hours he trusted would be the fate of the right honorable gentleman at the head of the present government. Indeed, he never compared, in his own mind, his first appearances in that house, when under the banners of his right honorable friend he supported the genuine cause of liberty, with his present melancholy, ridiculous situation in it, than he was drawn into an involuntary parody of the scene of Hamlet and his mother in the closet:

> 'Look here upon this picture, and on this :
> See what a grace was seated in his youth,
> His father's fire—the soul of Pitt himself,
> A tongue like his to soften or command,
> A station like the genius of England,
> New lighted on this top of freedom's hill ;
> A combination and a form indeed,
> Where every god did seem to set his seal
> To give his country earnest of a patriot.

'Look you now what follows:

> 'Dark secret influence, like a mildew'd ear!
> Blasting this public virtue: has he eyes!
> Could he this bright assembly leave to please,
> To batten on that bench.'

Mr Fox also said,

'That parliament had never been dissolved during the business of a session, since the revolution. In the reigns of the miserable family of the Stuarts, that sort of violence was not uncommon. Charles the First had done it; Charles the Second had done it; and James the Second had done it; and it was, he hoped, engraven on the minds of Englishmen, that the last monarch, by whom this violence was perpetrated, was not allowed to meet another parliament: he dissolved one parliament in the middle of a session, and it put a period to his violations of the constitution, and to his reign.'

* 'The usage is, for all newly elected members, if they shall appear at the bar before four o'clock, to be called up to the table to take the oaths, whoever may happen to be speaking; but in general, public business is not begun at that hour.'

On the same night at half past two, lord Surrey moved, 'that it is the opinion of this committee, that in the present situation of his majesty's dominions it is peculiarly necessary that there should be an administration which has the confidence of this house and the public.' The house was then resumed, and the motions of Mr Fox and lord Surrey agreed to, and the house adjourned at half past seven.

'This,' says bishop Tomline, 'was a most inauspicious beginning of Mr Pitt's administration. On the first day he appeared in the house of commons, after his re-election, he was left in two minorities, the one of thirty-nine, and the other of fifty-four; and five hostile motions were carried against him. The most reproachful terms, which disappointed ambition and political animosity could suggest, were applied to his principles and his conduct; and he was denied those common civilities, which had been hitherto invariably shewn to the minister of the crown. Having written to the king, at Windsor, a general account of these proceedings, he received the following answer from his majesty: "Mr Pitt cannot but suppose that I received his communications of the two divisions of the long debate, which ended this morning, with much uneasiness, as it shews the house of commons much more willing to enter into any intemperate resolutions of desperate men, than I could have imagined. As to myself, I am perfectly composed, as I have the self-satisfaction of feeling I have done my duty. Though I think Mr Pitt's day will be fully taken up in considering with the other ministers, what measures are best to be proposed in the present crisis; yet that no delay may arise from my absence, I will dine in town, and consequently be ready to see him in the evening, if he should think that would be of utility. At all events, I am ready to take any step that may be proposed to oppose this faction, and to struggle to the last period of my life; but I can never submit to throw myself into its power. If they, in the end, succeed, my line is a clear one, and to that I have fortitude enough to submit."'

The opposition, feeling at this time exceedingly powerful, and having resolved to expel the present ministers from the cabinet by force of arms, adhered with redoubled firmness and constancy to motions for committees on the state of the nation. And on the 16th of January, lord Charles Spencer moved,

'That it having been declared to be the opinion of this house, that, in the present situation of his majesty's dominions, it is peculiarly necessary there should be an administration that has the confidence of this house and of the public; and that the

appointment of his majesty's present ministers was accompanied by circumstances new and extraordinary, and such as do not conciliate or engage the confidence of this house; the continuance of the present ministers, in trusts of the highest importance and responsibility, is contrary to constitutional principles, and injurious to the interests of his majesty and his people.'

This was the most important motion made at this time, and contained the substance* of other motions made from the date of this to the 3d of February, all which the ministry lost by a majority of from twenty to thirty votes. It is obviously out of our power to follow, with any sort of minuteness, the course of this long discussion, which is exceedingly valuable and interesting, and is well reported in the parliamentary history. We must, therefore, yield to the necessity of simply preserving the direction and progress of the narrative, and content ourselves with recommending from time to time to the attention of the reader such remarks as the debates may suggest. We find that on this occasion Mr Powys, (afterwards made lord Lilford by Mr Pitt,) who spoke much and well during those troublesome times, and appeared to be actuated by the most disinterested and patriotic motives, said,

'He had a great predilection for Mr Pitt; he had also as strong a predilection for Mr Fox, notwithstanding he could not approve of his coalition with the noble lord in the blue ribbon. He admired and acknowledged his great talents, and he would freely declare, he thought his ambition laudable and honorable. He must at the same time say, he believed he did not care by what means he gratified it. He had long wished the two right honorable gentlemen could have acted together; but then he would acknowledge he saw the difficulty. The noble lord in the blue ribbon could not be disgraced, without the right honorable gentleman's being disgraced at the same time; the disgrace of either must be the disgrace of both. The noble lord now shone with a reflected lustre, with a borrowed light.'

Mr Fox spoke of Mr Pitt's conduct being an 'insult to the honor and sense of the house, and such as should not be overlooked.' He accused him of 'stealing into office by private intrigue and secret influence,' and declared, that 'if he thus per-

* One of these motions was made by lord Surrey, a most zealous whig, and known for a dark complexion. The evening before, at a meeting at Burlington house, a question arising as to the individual who should present the resolution the next day, some one cried out, 'saddle black Surrey for the field tomorrow.'

severed to insult and mock the dignity of the house, stronger measures must be resorted to.' He said that, though 'Mr Pitt's haughtiness, obstinacy, and temerity might hereafter justify such proceedings, still at present he recommended moderation.' Mr Dundas (having as good a scent for a peerage as any man in parliament;—and the subsequent conduct of this gentleman will justify us in using this coarse phrase) had early set himself side by side with Mr Pitt, had most faithfully followed him between treasury and opposition benches, and now, in this hour of need and despondency, rose up manfully and ably to defend him. Dr Tomline has inserted the whole of an able speech spoken by him in this debate, but we have no room for an extract.

During these transactions, addresses from the corporation and merchants of London, and from various parts of the country, were presented to the king, expressing strong confidence in the present ministry, and condemning the violent proceedings of the house of commons. An attempt at union was also made about the same time by a meeting of patriotic and public spirited individuals at the St Alban's tavern.

'Fifty-three members of the house of commons, chiefly independent country gentlemen, attended; and it was unanimously agreed, that a written communication, signed by all who were present, recommending an union of parties, should be made to the duke of Portland and Mr Pitt. Conformably to this resolution, Mr Grosvenor, the chairman, who was member from Chester, the honorable Mr Marshman, sir William Lemon, and Mr Powys, who were county members, as a committee, waited upon the duke and Mr Pitt, with the following statement:—" We whose names are hereunto signed, members of the house of commons, being fully persuaded, that the united efforts of those, in whose integrity, abilities, and constitutional principles, we have reason to confide, can alone rescue the country from its present distracted state, do join in most humbly entreating his grace the duke of Portland, and the right honorable William Pitt, to communicate with each other, on the arduous situation of public affairs; trusting, that by a liberal and unreserved intercourse between them, every impediment may be removed to a cordial co-operation of great and respectable characters, acting on the same public principles, and entitled to the support of independent and disinterested men." To this communication Mr Pitt replied, " That he should be very happy to pay attention to the commands of so respectable a meeting, and co-operate with their wishes to form a stronger and more extended administration, if the same could be

done with principle and honor." And the duke of Portland replied, "That he should think himself happy in obeying the commands of so respectable a meeting, but the greatest difficulty to him, and he imagined a still greater to Mr Pitt, was, Mr Pitt's being in office."'

Several meetings were held, and many votes passed, but Mr Pitt refused to resign and the duke of Portland refused to treat with him in his ministerial capacity. An old member of the commons said, that this diplomacy of the duke of Portland reminded him of the fable, in which the fox said to the raven, sitting on the branch of a tree—Monsieur Corbeau, come down from that branch, and we will settle the terms of our alliance together, on the ground. The gentlemen of St Albans, however, agreed to meet at least once a week, 'for the purpose of availing themselves of any opportunity which might present itself of promoting the great object, which they deemed absolutely necessary at that particular juncture.'

'In consequence of the eagerness for an union of parties, repeatedly expressed by these gentlemen, and also by many others in the house of commons, Mr Pitt, desirous that no backwardness upon the subject should be imputed to him, thought it right, as the most probable means of accomplishing the wishes of so many respectable men, to advise the king to propose an interview between the duke of Portland and himself (Mr Pitt,) for the purpose of endeavoring to form an administration, including themselves and their respective friends. This suggestion was received by his majesty with considerable surprise and agitation; and the next morning he wrote to Mr Pitt the following letter, dated Feb. 15th, 1784.

"*Queen's House,* 30*m. past* 10 *A. M.*

"Mr Pitt is so well apprised of the mortification I feel at any possibility of ever again seeing the heads of opposition in public employments, and more particularly Mr Fox, whose conduct has not been more marked against my station in the empire, than against my person, that he must attribute my want of perspicuity in my conversation last night, to that foundation; yet I should imagine it must be an ease to his mind, in conferring with the other confidential ministers this morning, to have on paper my sentiments, which are the result of unremitted consideration, since he left me last night, and which he has my consent to communicate, if he judges it right, to the above respectable persons.

"My present situation is perhaps the most singular that ever occurred, either in the annals of this or any other country; for the house of lords, by a not less majority than near two to one,

have declared in my favor; and my subjects at large, in a much more considerable proportion, are not less decided; to combat which, opposition have only a majority of twenty, or at most of thirty, in the house of commons, who, I am sorry to add, seem as yet willing to prevent the public supplies. Though I certainly have never much valued popularity, yet I do not think it is to be despised, when arising from a rectitude of conduct, and when it is to be retained by following the same respectable path, which conviction makes me esteem that of duty, as calculated to prevent one branch of the legislature from annihilating the other two, and seizing also the executive power, to which she has no claim.

"Should the ministers, after discussing this, still think it advisable, that an attempt should be made to try whether an administration can be formed on a real, not a nominal, wide basis, and that Mr Pitt, having repeatedly, and as fruitlessly, found it impossible to get even an interview on what opposition pretends to admit is a necessary measure, I will, though reluctantly, go personally so far as to authorize a message to be carried in my name to the duke of Portland, expressing a desire that he and Mr Pitt may meet to confer on the means of forming an administration, on a wide basis, as the only means of entirely healing the divisions which stop the business of the nation. The only person I can think, from his office, as well as personal character, proper to be sent by me, is lord Sydney; but should the duke of Portland, when required by me, refuse to meet Mr Pitt, more especially upon the strange plea he has yet held forth, I must here declare, that I shall not deem it right for me ever to address myself again to him.

"The message must be drawn on paper, as must every thing in such a negotiation, as far as my name is concerned; and I trust, when I next see Mr Pitt, if, under the present circumstances, the other ministers shall agree with him in thinking such a proposition advisable, that he will bring a sketch of such a message, for my inspection. "GEORGE R."

'In consequence of this permission from the king, which was evidently given with great reluctance, lord Sydney, on the same day, wrote to the duke of Portland, signifying, "his majesty's earnest desire, that his grace should have a personal conference with Mr Pitt, for the purpose of forming a new administration, on a wide basis, and on fair and equal terms." The duke of Portland considered this message as tantamount to a virtual resignation on the part of ministers, and therefore as a removal of the obstacle which had hitherto prevented an interview between himself and Mr Pitt. But no sooner was this difficulty removed, than another was started by the duke of Portland. The royal

message spoke of "forming an administration on fair and equal term;" his grace did not object to the word "fair"—it was a general term, and he and Mr Pitt, in framing the arrangements, might discuss what they considered to be fair: but the word "equal" was more specific and limited; and as a necessary preliminary, he required Mr Pitt to inform him, what he understood by the word "equal." Mr Pitt said, he thought the meaning of that word would be best explained at a personal conference. The duke replied, that he could not meet Mr Pitt, till the word was explained. Mr Pitt declined explaining it; and thus the negotiation was finally broken off. Mr Powys and Mr Marsham were the persons, through whom these communications, relative to the meaning of the word "equal," passed; and the other gentlemen of St Alban's tavern, finding from their statement, that recent endeavors to accomplish an union of parties were as fruitless as former ones; that the "earnest desire" of the king had no better effect than the unanimous resolution of the house of commons; and utterly despairing of success from any farther application, after various consultations, at last came to this concluding resolution:—"This meeting having heard with infinite concern, that an interview between the duke of Portland and Mr Pitt is prevented by a doubt respecting a single word, are unanimously of opinion, that it would be no dishonorable step in either of the gentlemen to give way, and might be highly advantageous to the public welfare." No notice whatever was taken of this resolution, and the meetings were discontinued.'

The motives and conduct of those gentlemen, who were at such infinite pains to unite the great talents of Mr Pitt and Mr Fox in the cause of their country, were entitled to all praise, and cannot be too much commended. But such schemes at all times are obviously impracticable. The ambition, which generally accompanies great talents, covets rule and dominion in an exclusive and unreasonable manner, and the jealousy and enmities, which these contests for power create, would always render an administration, composed of such materials, inefficient and transitory. Conciliation and reconciliation are words often heard in politics, and often employed by the best men, inspired by the most patriotic and generous motives, but we believe that they will never produce any practical good effects, that they will never cease to be an artifice in the hands of the strong to the disadvantage of the weak, until an art is discovered for rooting out that ambition and those jealousies and dislikes and prejudices, with which all men, engaged in political contests, become imbu-

ed and imbittered. There was a broad bottom administration formed by Mr Pulteney (afterwards lord Bath) and another by Mr Fox; but both were inefficient and of short duration.

Having departed somewhat from the course of these memoirs, we shall now return to the proceedings in the house of lords, to which the king refers in his letter. It appears that Mr Pitt was consulted as to the course of conduct which should be pursued by the lords on this occasion, and he recommended a moderate and ample acknowledgment of the prerogatives of the crown, in the appointment of ministers, and a declaration of the determination of that body to support his majesty in the just exercise of those prerogatives. The lords were desirous to avoid a return of that struggle between the two houses, the cause of such mischief and confusion in the last century, and therefore confined themselves to moving two resolutions, setting forth that the attempt of one house of parliament to assume a discretionary power, and thereby suspend the execution of a law, was unconstitutional, and repeating that construction of the royal prerogative which we have already mentioned. This doctrine was embodied in an address and presented to his majesty. It passed in the lords by a vote of one hundred to fifty three; some evidence, in our opinion, that the opposition was not supported by the aristocracy, and that the declaration of a nobleman of high rank was not founded in fact, viz. 'that Mr Pitt beat the whole aristocracy of the country,' especially as at this time not a single peer had been created by the new administration. We hope hereafter to have an opportunity of examining this subject, and presenting a statement of it to our readers. We rejoice that Dr Tomline has given us, on this occasion, an opportunity of quoting from other letters from the king, for we think the character of a monarch who could manifest such undeviating firmness, such remarkable good sense, and such devotedness to the constitution of the country, deserves to be recorded and published.

"I trust the house of lords will this day feel, that the hour is come for which the wisdom of our ancestors established that respectable corps in the state, to prevent either the crown or the commons from encroaching on each other. Indeed, should not the lords stand boldly forth, this constitution must soon be changed; for, if the two only remaining privileges of the crown are infringed, that of negativing bills which have passed both houses

of parliament, and that of naming the ministers to be employed, I cannot but feel, as far as regards my person, that I can be no longer of utility to this country, nor can with honour continue in this island.

Again the king says,

'I cannot conclude, without expressing my fullest approbation of the conduct of Mr Pitt, on Monday; in particular his employing a razor against his antagonists, and never condescending to run into that rudeness, which, though common in that house, certainly never becomes a gentleman. If he proceeds in this mode of oratory, he will bring debates into a shape more creditable, and correct that, as well as I trust many other evils, which time and temper can only effect.'

From this time to the close of the sessions, eight motions were made, pointed specifically against the ministers. The four last were carried by majorities of seven, twelve, nine, and at the last, of one. It may be proper, however, first to state, that the commons, in order to repel the disguised attack of the lords, appointed a committee to examine the journals for precedents, touching the discretionary power of the house of commons, and afterwards passed several resolutions, asserting their dignity and privileges.

We are obliged reluctantly to omit in this place the extracts, which we had prepared from speeches of Mr Fox, Mr Pitt, and lord North, made by occasion of one of these motions, the last of which, particularly, is characterised by its spirit and manliness.

Mr Pitt at last thought proper to make a distinct and explicit declaration on the 18th of February, that his majesty had not thought proper to dismiss his present ministers, and that ministers had not resigned. It is said, that Mr Fox made, on this occasion, one of the most ingenious, powerful, and masterly speeches which he ever pronounced. Indeed, whoever reads the discussions of this day must be filled with delight and wonder at the matchless eloquence of this extraordinary man, at the ingenuity, the perpetual variety, the pathos, the indignation, the bold and terrific prophecies, the apparent liberality, the most devoted patriotism, all expressed in such rapid and overwhelming language, that even the reports enchant, persuade, and convince us. We no longer wonder that he should have been equally worshipped and dreaded, and that lord Mulgrave in his coarse and most repre-

hensible language should have said, that 'he reckoned Mr Fox the most dangerous character that had ever appeared in this country.' Mr Burke's name does not appear in these debates, and under the direction of Mr Fox, assisted by lord North, Mr. Sheridan, and occasionally Mr Powys, never were the opposition benches so brilliant, never so triumphant, as during these two months, and perhaps never, not even during the days of sir Robert Walpole, was such violent, personal, and acrimonious language employed in parliament. Mr. Fox said,

'In his opinion the matter was nearly at a crisis. Was not this the first answer of the sort that ever had been received by the house from a prince of the Brunswick line?'

He proceeded to say,

'That his majesty had a legal right to appoint whom he pleased, and even to continue those he had appointed to be his ministers, in opposition to the sentiments of this house, he pretended not to dispute. But he was certain, on the other hand, the public money was trusted with the house of commons, whose right to distribute that money was at least not less legal. When, therefore, either the one or the other of these rights were asserted in the extreme, he could consider it in no other light, than as a challenge, and the party thus defied was bound in duty to its own honor, calmly and deliberately to consider with itself, whether it should take up the challenge or not.'

Mr Pitt spoke at great length in reply; but we have room only for this extract.

'Many of the right honorable gentleman's arguments had been addressed personally to him, but with what propriety, gentlemen of feeling and delicacy would judge. There were points in personal honor, which no man of spirit could for any object whatever forego; and whatever were his connexions, or attachments, he hoped never to forfeit feelings, without which he could not retain, consistently, any opinion of himself. He would, therefore, declare once for all, that he considered his personal honor deeply and inseparably concerned in the present situation which he held; and that he would not, on any account, first resign, and then stoop to negotiate.'

We have not often reason to admire the eloquence of lord Nugent, but as he proposed a method entirely new, though certainly a very pleasant one, of removing differences, we venture to solicit the reader's forbearance for detaining him a moment, and to recommend to his attention and practice the

noble earl's recipe for reconciling ministers; and we make no doubt, that it will be found equally efficacious with persons of less consideration.

'It was not the first time that he had been instrumental in effecting a conciliation between two great men, who had much greater cause to be at variance than the two right honorable members. The two great men were Mr Pelham and lord Granville. His lordship had appointed to meet at his house, and their meeting was to be kept a profound secret. One repaired to his house quite muffled up, so that it was impossible for any one who saw him to know him. He just introduced them to one another and left them to themselves. He took care, in the mean time, to have a good supper ready for them, of which they partook; they drank heartily after it; the wine put an end to the reserve on which they had acted; they spoke freely; confidence was established between them; they became sincere friends and remained so, and cared not the next day who knew the story of their interview. Thus was this coalition, (and by the bye, this shewed he was a friend to coalitions,) effected in a single night over a glass of good wine.'

On the 8th of March the coalition, in great agony, and after long struggling, breathed its last gasp. The rumor having gone abroad, that most important proceedings were about to take place, the gallery was crowded at a very early hour, but no full and satisfactory report has been preserved, owing to the ill nature of sir James Lowther, called by Junius 'the petty tyrant of the north,' who, having arrived late with a gentleman, whom he wished to introduce, and finding no seat vacant, moved that the standing order of the house, 'that no strangers should be received unless introduced by members,' should be enforced. Many members interfered and entreated, protested and remonstrated; but the honorable baronet insisted upon exercising his right, and it appears that the reporters partook of the fate of those who were excluded. In consequence of which circumstance, the whole gallery was left in possession of sir James Lowther's friend. The manifesto of the coalition, read by Mr Fox on this occasion, has, however, been preserved. It was accepted by a majority of one vote in three hundred and eighty-one votes. It is much admired as a composition; but it contains little beyond a repetition of those opinions which were advanced by the coalition during this discussion.

'Mr Pitt,' says his biographer, 'sent to his majesty at Windsor an account of what had passed this day in the house of commons, and received the following answer: "Mr Pitt's letter is undoubtedly, the most satisfactory I have received for many months. An avowal on the outset, that the proposition held forth is not intended to go farther lengths than a kind of manifesto; and then carrying it by a majority of only one, and the day concluded with an avowal, that all negotiation is at an end, gives me every reason to hope, that by a firm and proper conduct, this faction will, by degrees, be deserted by many, and at length be forgot. I shall ever with pleasure consider, that by the prudence, as well as rectitude of one person, in the house of commons, this great change has been effected; and that he will ever be able to reflect with satisfaction, that in having supported me, he has saved the constitution, the most perfect of human formation."'

Finally,

'Mr Powys, who in the beginning of the contest had voted with Mr Pitt, but in the course of it had taken a different line, followed sir Matthew White Ridley, and "acknowledged with regret, that, notwithstanding the manly stand made by the majority, of which he had the honor to be one, Mr Pitt had conquered the house of commons, and that he held his situation in defiance of their addresses; he gave him credit for his firmness; he had carried the point he had undertaken. The house was, indeed, conquered; for, though a vote of the commons could once bestow a crown, it could not now procure the dismission of a minister."'

With this expression we shall finish the account of this memorable and most interesting discussion. We sincerely regret that the nature of this journal has compelled us to prescribe very narrow limits for our extracts, and fearing that we have not been able to present the subject with that fullness and relief, and point, which it most truly merits, we beg to recommend to the particular study of our readers the chapter of Dr Tomline's memoirs, which contains a history of these proceedings, and which, indeed, we consider the best written in the work; though we cannot avoid making the observation, which we do with the best feelings imaginable, and merely to confirm a remark made in the outset, that with the exception of a small portion of matter, this chapter is composed from the parliamentary history of that year. The mutiny bill and the army extraordinaries were agreed to without a division, and the king came to the house of lords and dissolved parliament, which had been sitting six years.

Whatever may have been the public or private views and motives of Mr Pitt and Mr Fox, this, in reality, was nothing less than a contest, which of those gentlemen should be minister of Great Britain. Mr Pitt supported the prerogatives of the crown, Mr Fox the privileges of parliament, and Pitt prevailed against the coalition for the same reason that Mr Fox had before prevailed against lord North,—the people were with him. Thus in the course of two years, we have two undoubted instances of the direct and unfailing power of the people at large over the house of commons. Mr Pitt waited till he was convinced that he might safely make the appeal, till he perceived that Mr Fox's coalition with lord North and his India bill had given a disrelish and distrust of that party to the community; for no man can say, that any minister since the revolution has had the folly and the madness to resist, even for a week, the sense of the people of England, expressed by their representatives in the house of commons. If the same members had been returned to the sixteenth parliament, the king would probably have gone to Hanover and Mr Pitt to the tower, or, it might have been, to the scaffold.

But at the same time we entertain no manner of doubt that, notwithstanding the support of the king and the people, notwithstanding the possession of the highest intellectual endowments, notwithstanding all the weight and popularity attached to his name, Mr Pitt must have yielded to the majority of the house of commons, he must have submitted to interpret phrases and accept conditions from the duke of Portland, if it had not been that he felt himself inspired, exalted, and fortified by the most spotless and unshaken integrity, by the purest patriotism and disinterestedness. At all times, and in all places, these high qualities were acknowledged and commended in Mr Pitt, both by treasury and opposition. Whatever might have been said of his haughtiness, of his pride, of his austerity, the hardened and desperate opponents of Mr Pitt, in the bitterest moments of debate and defeat, extolled his virtues. Fox, in the midst of those heroic harangues, which we cannot believe have ever been surpassed except perhaps by Mr Sheridan and lord Chatham, when he appeared to be grinding into dust thrones, lords, and ministers, could stoop from his high career, and with tears in his eyes, exclaim, as if he felt that the great moral character of Mr Pitt made his strongest efforts impotent and without effect, as if the in-

tegrity of that man was beyond taint and irresistible, 'I venerate the character of the young man, who holds the reins of government,—I admire his virtues and respect his abilities.' There are seasons in the history of nations, as well as in the lives of individuals, when reputation for unsullied probity, for unblemished integrity, secures a deeper interest and influence than the most profound and extensive learning, or the most brilliant and winning accomplishments, or the most exalted intellectual endowments. Why was it that the progress of Mr Necker from the borders of Switzerland to the boulevards of Paris, in the year 1789, was an uninterrupted triumph, and why did the people of France crowd about him with delight and devotion, as one at whose presence national debts, and famines, and *corvées* were about to disappear. Simply because he was an honest man. And nothing but the high moral character of Washington could have saved this country from all the fury, contagion, rage, and disorganization of the French revolution. Not the genius of Hamilton, vast, active, and powerful as it was, could have done this.

At the election in the next (sixteenth) parliament, Mr Pitt was put in nomination for the city of London. He was also much urged to stand for the city of Bath, which city his father represented, and likewise for several other towns and cities, but having immediately after the dissolution offered himself for the university of Cambridge, he and his friend, lord Euston, prevailed against Mr Townsend and Mr Mansfield, who had represented the university in the last parliament. Mr Pitt polled three hundred seventy-four votes—lord Euston two hundred and eighty-eight—Mr Townsend two hundred and sixty-seven, and Mr Mansfield one hundred and eighty-one. This election was highly gratifying to his feelings. One hundred and thirty of the old members of the opposition lost their seats in this parliament, and the address was carried by a vote of two hundred and eighty-two to one hundred and fourteen.

We shall close our article, with a brief account of Mr Pitt's conduct in regard to the subject of *reform.* Mr Pitt is the first person who made a motion in the house of commons for a reform in parliament. He had inherited from his father a spirit greatly savoring of popular tendencies, and he received, as early as the year 1782, the high compliment of being selected, at a meeting of the friends of reform held at the duke

of Richmond's house in London, as the fittest person to introduce the subject to parliament. The motion which he made on this occasion was rejected by a vote of one hundred and forty-one to one hundred and sixty-one. Mr Pitt again, in the month of May 1783, proposed three specific resolutions; and delivered a speech in vindication of them, which excited great applause. With his accustomed perseverance, Mr Pitt adhered to the accomplishment of this favorite measure, and in his first moments of leisure, in the month of April 1785, mentioned this subject to parliament, and moved that leave be given to bring in a bill to amend the representation of the people of England. Mr Pitt's scheme was ingenious, plausible, and perhaps practicable, and we shall therefore subjoin a hasty sketch of it, extracted from a publication of the day.

To disfranchise, by a voluntary surrender, thirty-six boroughs, each sending two representatives, equal to	72
Four boroughs additional disfranchised in order to give representation to four large unrepresented towns - - - - - - - - -	8
Ten corporations of large towns expected to surrender their exclusive right of representation - -	20
	100

These representatives would be thus divided:

To the counties and the metropolis, - -	72
To towns not represented, - - -	8
Representation thrown into ten large towns, -	20
	100

An estimate was made that ninety-nine thousand electors would thus be added to the electoral body. Many of the boroughs being private property, it was proposed to set apart one million pounds to be divided into thirty-six shares, and one share to be bestowed upon each borough surrendering its franchise. The shares of those boroughs refusing to surrender, should be made to accumulate in interest, till it was supposed the temptation would be too great to be resisted. Provision was also made for extension of the right of suffrage to copy-holders, &c.

This bill was also lost by a vote of two hundred and forty-eight to one hundred and seventy-four. Mr Pitt thought

proper to communicate the heads of this scheme to the king; upon which his majesty made the following remarks, in a letter to Mr Pitt:

'I have received Mr Pitt's paper, containing the heads of his plan, for a parliamentary reform, which I look on as a mark of attention. I should have delayed acknowledging the receipt of it till I saw him on Monday, had not his letter expressed, that there is but one issue of the business he could look upon as fatal, that is, the possibility of the measure being rejected, by the weight of those who are supposed to be connected with government. Mr Pitt must recollect, that though I have ever thought it unfortunate, that he had early engaged himself in this measure, yet that I have ever said, that as he was clear of the propriety of the measure, he ought to lay his thoughts before the house; that out of personal regard to him, I would avoid giving any opinion to any one, on the opening of the door to parliamentary reform, except to him; therefore, I am certain, Mr Pitt cannot suspect my having influenced any one on the occasion. If others choose, for base ends, to impute such a conduct to me, I must bear it as former false suggestions. Indeed, on a question of such magnitude, I should think very ill of any man, who took a part on either side, without the maturest consideration, and who would suffer his civility to any one, to make him vote contrary to his own opinion. The conduct of some of Mr Pitt's most intimate friends on the Westminster scrutiny, shews, there are questions, men will not, by friendship, be biassed to adopt.'

We are astonished at this day to learn, that Mr Pitt was at any period of his life a reformer, and this appears the more remarkable, as he, Mr Fox, Mr Burke, Mr Sheridan, and many other distinguished men came into parliament, and several of them there continued, for rotten boroughs. But Mr Pitt, early in the French revolution, opposed the very propositions which he himself had once made, upon the plea, that the feelings and circumstances of the people being greatly changed, any the least innovation, might lead to those disasters and disorders, by which a neighboring kingdom had been overtaken. The same dread of innovation was then expressed;—all united in calling the constitution glorious and venerable, all acknowledged its blemishes and defects, all expressed their gratitude and thankfulness for the freedom, security, prosperity, and happiness, which it had bestowed; but it demanded an eye and a hand, endowed and gifted with a skill and courage more than human, to restore and strengthen it.

We shall take advantage of this subject to present a statement of the house of commons in 1812, to which we are indebted to Oldfield.

'87 peers in England and Wales return		218
90 commoners		137
Government		16
21 peers and peeresses return in Scotland		31
14 commoners		14
36 peers in Ireland		51
19 commoners		20
Total of peers	300	
Total by government and commons	187	
	487	
Returned independent of nomination	171	
Total commons	658	
Duke of Norfolk returns	11	
" Rutland	6	
" Newcastle	7	
Marquis of Buckingham	6	
Earl Fitzwilliam	6	
" Darlington	7	
" Lonsdale	9	
Mr. George Rose	3	
Sir C. Hawkins	4	
John Buller	4 &c.'	

We observe by the last London list of books that the third volume of Dr Tomline's work is announced for publication. We shall therefore defer to another opportunity those subjects, which we have not been able to touch upon in this present article. We hope that we shall then have it in our power to present to our readers much information concerning the domestic and private life of Mr Pitt, the want of which, we believe, every one now feels.

We shall finish this article with a few remarks, which the reading of this work has suggested to us. There are several peculiarities in the British house of commons, that procure vast facilities and advantages to individuals endowed with great talents. The first peculiarity is, that the discussion is confined exclusively to half a score of members, for during the great debates, to which we have referred in this article, seldom more than that number took a part. It is true that occasionally there starts up, in these debates, a new member,

who makes what the reporters call a maiden speech, which is heard with great attention, reported with great care, and then, in all probability, the name and the voice are forever lost amidst the din and the shouts of the chiefs of the epic. In these maiden speeches we have observed that the most fatal symptoms are well set, and well prepared sentences and periods, certain moral truisms, and frequent references to the Greeks and the Romans. Such symptoms are commonly mortal. We quote the following as a specimen:

'Mr Drake began *ex abrupto*—"This, Mr Speaker, is another picture of that abominable system of procrastination. The Roman patriots, sir, used to promote the welfare of their country; but, sir, the patriots of this day endeavor to oppose it." Here Mr Drake's memory failed him, and he was obliged to sit down.'

But unless those members speak with promise, they are heard a second time with great indifference, and finally scraped and groaned down, if the less positive expression of the feeling of the house, by one half the members going into the coffee rooms, and the other half going to sleep, is not accompanied by a prompt obedience. Respect is also had to the personal character of the member or of the powerful counties he may represent; but the members are prone to take advantage of the neighboring coffee rooms, and without speaking again of the instance of Mr Hartley and of many worthy and honorable baronets, we have seen it recorded, that Mr Burke, rising to speak and seeing many members leaving their seats, thought proper to resume his own. Whatever advantages may attend the practice of allowing the commons to select their own orator, it has the air of great rudeness; and we are able to account for its origin in no other way, than by supposing that it was first exercised under some of the arbitrary sovereigns to still those who were obnoxious to their censure. No such custom existed during the commonwealth, and as many members spoke then as now speak in our congress.

A great deal also may be learned from the constitution of the house. Many members are sent there merely to vote, who would probably greatly displease their patrons, if they should attempt to speak. Many others who spend great sums to obtain seats have no constituents, and an M. P. is only serviceable to such persons for the purpose of franking letters, of adding a little to their distinction and dignity in drawing rooms and at dinner parties, and as being one proof, besides the right to carry

a gun, that a man is a gentleman. And after all, this is one of the least expensive modes, which an Englishman adopts to prove his claims to that condition. Men seldom go to parliament for the mere purpose of speaking for their constituents, inasmuch as the members of the house of commons have constituents in a more enlarged sense than the members of the American congress, because from the circumstances of our country, there is a much greater variety of interests in it, requiring more specific representation. It often happens, however, that instructions are sent in relation to certain priviliges and customs, by virtue of which members of the house of commons are forced to speak; as was most particularly the case in relation to the slave trade. There is, notwithstanding, as we observed above, a class of members whose sole object is the honor and dignity of a seat in parliament. They care little in what way they get there; and being there, have no particular constituents, whose interests they are called to defend. They have not, as with us, each thirty five thousand constituents, who can reward them with their approbation and often with state offices, whereby such weight is acquired at home, that the national government is forced to extend its patronage to them:—by which circuitous process many a member of congress, who would be immediately defeated on the floor of the house in any attempt to gain influence by taking an active part in the debates, is still enabled by means of long speeches painfully composed and delivered, and diligently printed and distributed through the post office,—to acquire or sustain that popularity among his constituents, which shall send him up to the executive government, clothed in all the importance of a powerful local interest.

Another peculiarity of the English house of commons is, that a division takes place every night; and though such a subject as the Missouri question might be renewed for twenty nights successively, in committee on the state of the nation, yet there is always a certain degree of variety, freshness, and animation, produced by a knowledge, that a decision is about to take place. This peculiarity is a consequence of that which we have mentioned. The third peculiarity is, and it is one which will always make greater orators than we are likely to have in this country, because they will always have more experience, that men of great promise and ambition can enter the house of commons at the age of twenty one;

an age at which an individual seldom can enter even a state legislature in this country. Fox was chosen to the house before he was twenty, Pitt before he was twenty two.

Again, parliament is a profession, and a man becomes as skilful and as much attached to it, as to that vocation by which he earns his bread. The distinguished men in the house of commons remain there twenty and thirty years, and many of them as long as they live. The consequence of this is, that they not only become greater men themselves, but learn to do the business of the nation with greater despatch. We believe that the members from Virginia and South Carolina remain in congress longer than those from the New England states, where an opposite policy, either arising from the caprice of the people, or the circumstances of the candidate, prevails to a fatal degree. We may also observe, that all the distinguished English statesmen from the time of Queen Anne, appear to have been accomplished scholars, and particularly well versed in the Latin language. This was especially the case with the Pitts, father and son, though the practice of quoting Latin in parliament is much diminished, and we have seen it stated by a person of great experience in those matters, that Mr Pitt did not make more than a dozen citations from the classics, in the whole course of his ministry.

ART. XI.—*Report upon Weights and Measures. By John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States. Prepared in obedience to a resolution of the Senate of the 3d of March* 1817. 8vo. pp. 245. Washington.

To one who has never had occasion to turn his attention to the history and philosophy of weights and measures, it may appear surprising that the subject should have called for all the learning, and research, and wisdom, displayed in this work. Though foreign to the ordinary duties of a statesman, the senate of the United States seem to have been fully aware of the importance and difficulty of the question before them, and of the qualifications for treating it of the distinguished individual to whom they referred it; and we deem it matter of great congratulation, that congress have, by their prudence and caution, hitherto escaped the evils into which other gov-